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Kols have neither mud walls nor wooden doors. When they leave the house, a bit of thorny brush is put in front of the doorway. This will keep out dogs and also any dangerous spirit which may be seeking admission. 342

When the building of a house is completed, there is usually a dedicatory ceremony consisting of installing and worshipping the household god or goddess or both, and a small niche in a corner or in the side wall is reserved for this purpose. The place is marked with *sendur* and the *hom* sacrifice is made. An offering of a chicken or young goat may also be made at the village shrine. A *tulasi* plant should also be planted somewhere in the courtyard. 342 776 778

DAILY LIFE. The daily life of the village and forest Kol centres mainly about the problem of daily bread. Before daybreak the women are up and are the first to be seen about the village. They sweep the house, the veranda and the courtyard; fetch water from a nearby stream, well or tank and grind the wheat for the morning meal. The sound of the grindstone is one of the earliest to be heard in a Kol village. The men are also up early, but do not have much to do in the way of household duties unless it is to chop a bit of wood. They wash their faces and rinse out their mouths with water which the women have brought, and, if they have bullocks, these are fed and got ready for the work in the fields; or if this is not to be done, they sit around in the sun in the courtyard and wait for some hot tea, or more probably for rice and *chapati* remaining from the meal of the night before. During the season when the work is heavy, they are in the field not long after the day has dawned, and the village is inhabited only by the women, children and older men. The bullocks for ploughing are driven before them; some of the older boys may assist in this, and the men carry the iron-pointed wooden plough. If some of the men-folk have no work in the fields, they may go into the forest for wood and grass; or, if there is plenty of food in the house and there is no pressing need for money, they sit around in groups and smoke cheap country cigarettes (*biris*) and gossip. 512 [252] [515] [264] [492] [407] [276 521]

In the meantime the women are preparing the morning meal. It is not usual for men and women to eat together. The women and children usually eat about the same time, though when the boys get in their teens, they like to eat with the men. During the middle of the morning, after the meal is nearly ready the women go for their daily bath to a nearby stream or tank. Women bathe every day throughout the year. The men bathe daily in the hot weather, but not so frequently in winter. The women do not remove their clothes when they bathe, though men usually remove all but a loincloth. The women [264] [515]

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

yellow *haldi* water and keeps it in a number of *lotas*. As the guests are about to depart the women appear with the *haldi* water and *kajra* (lamp-black), the latter being in the form of a paste. The yellow water is sprinkled over the departing guests and the lamp-black is applied just below the eyes. This is considered auspicious and both are believed to have a protective significance. In jest the *kajra* is sometimes applied to other parts of the face and hearty laughs and ridicule result, all of which the party must bear cheerfully. The girl's mother should sprinkle the *haldi* water on the boy's father and after she has done this and put the colour below his eyes she holds her brass *lota* before him and he is expected to drop some money into it—at least one rupee. The rest of the men are then sprinkled by the other women and are also asked to give a gift, but not as much as the father gave. The women then courteously salute and go off taking with them the *lotas* containing the coins.

For a brief time the men of the two parties remain seated together, eat *pan supari* and pass around the *hukka* for a smoke. Finally the boy's party gets up and all go to the edge of the village together where they embrace and separate. This ends the first part of the wedding cycle.

(2) *Domestic Preparations.* The time that is to elapse between the writing of the *lagan* and the *sadi* is fixed by the *lagan* itself and depends on several factors of an astrological nature. Usually there is less than a month between them. During this period there are active preparations in both houses as certain important things must be accomplished.

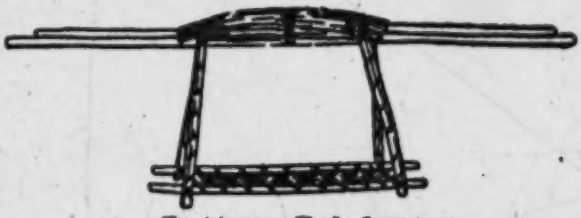
In the girl's village some uncooked rice coloured with *haldi* is taken around by members of the family and given to those who are to be invited to the ceremonies. With the rice the time and place of the ceremonies are made known. There should be plenty of supplies of food on hand and among the things listed there should be *sendur*, a *dauri* (small basket), new clothes, cash for small gifts and payments, rice, pulse, especially *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and wheat.

(a) *Mangarmati.* The *mangarmati* or *magarmati* is a ceremony whereby a certain amount of earth is obtained from which *chulhas*, or earthen fireplaces, are to be constructed. This ceremony, which is performed at both homes and on the same night, is essentially alike in both the houses and must be performed after sunset. Only the women take part in the gathering of the sacred earth, but we were allowed to watch a *mangarmati* ceremony in the Kaimur hills. It was found that a portion of the courtyard just in front of the house had

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

585 another. In more Hinduized communities they may set off fireworks
574 at this time if they can afford them. The arrangement for these is made by a Basor. In the midst of this din the girl's father speaks to the boy's father and tells him that they are glad that they have come, that they will expect them to tarry for some days in their village, and that everything possible will be done for their comfort. As the best wedding months are usually dry and pleasant, the boy's party may be accommodated under a large tree. Wherever they are put, the place is called the *janmasa*. If there is an available house so much the better.

[493]



THE WEDDING PALKI - BAISDEMPO

Fig. 22

On entering the village the two parties repair to the bride's house, led by the woman with the lamp on her head. Upon reaching
[276] the house the rice is taken out of the *barain*, pipes are passed around,
[273] for a smoke, and even drinks may be offered. During this time the bridegroom has remained seated in his *palki* which is now brought close to the marriage booth. He reaches out and shakes the booth, to test, as it were, its strength and workmanship. The girl's mother comes to the *palki* and with the thumb and little finger of her right hand dabs a bit of vermilion on the forehead of her future son-in-law and then pours out the water which was in the *kalsa* with the light that brought them into the village. Members of each group should bring *gular* or *semal* twigs, as the case may be, which have been plastered with *gobar* and which have some *tikas* (dabs) of *sendur* on them. These are laid in the centre of the booth next to the *magrohan*. The *ghara* of *lawa* is taken by a member of the boy's group, who walks round the *palki* seven times with it. After the seventh round the boy's *maur*
[292] or wedding crown (made up usually, of peacock feathers, bamboo and palm leaves) is removed and the party retires to the place prepared
[262] for them, the *janmasa*.
[276] Arriving at the *janmasa* they settle themselves and are again supplied with smokes by members of the bride's household. Pre-

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463

Kol Tribe	Number per 1,000 earners engaged in each occupation
Artisans and other workers ..	22
Labourers, boatmen, cartmen, *palki* bearers, etc. ..	19
Trade ..	12
Domestic service ..	11
Contractors, clerks, cashiers, etc. otherwise unspecified ..	17
Labourers, unspecified ..	157
Other occupations ..	27[1]

463 177 Our own investigations show that the Kols enter into the modern economic world more easily than other primitive tribes such as the Gonds. While there are scores of Gond villages in and around Jubbulpore, the Gonds are shy and retiring and are only seen in the town on bazaar days when they come to buy and exchange some of [156] their forest produce. The Kols are not bad mixers, seem to like company, and have entered into the industrial life of the city quite readily. We did not find the Kols limited to any particular occupation. 463 They are unusually good workers and wherever we went we found [427] this fact mentioned about them. We found a few who are farmers and who hold small pieces of land from the *malguzar*. Others are farm workers and follow the crops; and during the time of the wheat harvest some Kol villages and *mahallas* are almost entirely deserted. Many of the Kols living in a town not far from Jubbulpore are road-workers, breaking the stone for the roadway and doing the required [439] labour in repairing it. Others in Barela burn and sell charcoal; some Kols buy wood from the Gonds, cut it into convenient lengths and resell it in Jubbulpore. In Khajara Ghat, a purely Kol village about eight miles from Jubbulpore and quite inaccessible and isolated, the [427] Kols seem independent, raising all their own food-stuffs and paying their *malguzari* rents by means of the proceeds from the sale of wood and of the leaves of the *tendu* plants (*Diospyros embryopteris, melanoxylon, montana, etc.*), used in the manufacture of country cigarettes or [276, 824] *biris*. No one in this village was said to be engaged in hard labour [461] for others, known as coolie work. In other places we found indication that they can quite readily turn their hands to mechanical work. A few are so engaged in the factories in Jubbulpore. We watched Kols

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE X.

231
243
463

[415]

Kols Threshing and Winnowing their Wheat near Barela

291
276
439
463

Tendu leaves gathered by Kols for Biri manufacture. The two men on the right are Mohammedan leaf Brokers. Khawas Ghat Village.

[FACING p. 265]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

566 426 [124] viously, at which time he incurred a debt of Rs. fourteen for the expenses of the wedding. This was borrowed from a *Thakur* of a nearby village who appeared most glad to lend it to him. Ever since that day this *Thakur* has considered him as his serf, and he is supposed to go daily to him; and even though he has worked for the *Thakur* for the past twelve years he has not cleared the debt and does not believe that he ever will. He is virtually a slave of this man, is on call at any time, and must give him the first work until he no longer requires him. For each day's work the *Thakur* will give him 1½ *seers* of *chana* (usually *Dolichos lablab*) or perhaps the same amount of barley still in the head. Money was never given, nor rice or wheat. This group of Kols in Rewa was a very intelligent one on the whole, but indicated that Rewa State was not a place where one could get more than just the necessary food. As one expressed it: "In Rewa there is no [538] stomach hunger, only money hunger." This appeared to be quite a common expression over a wide area. Food was available there, but no money for the other necessities of life nor for weddings, burials and the like.

339 464 434 In centres like Kymore and Katni where there are large cement works, the majority of the coolies employed in the many types of manual labour are Kols. The work is very hard and the wages are low: usually not more than four annas a day for males and three annas for female workers.

434 [423] Kharara Ghat, the isolated Kol village, is perhaps as independent economically as any Kol group studied by us. It was previously noted that this village controls about eighty acres of land. They say that ordinarily they do not sell the farm products, rather keeping them for the use of the village as well as holding a small reserve for [162] emergencies. The village contains about 135 adult persons and the land farmed takes care of their food. Money for other needs is gained 222 in many ways: during the months of May and June the leaves of the 276 *tendu* tree (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) are picked for use in the *biri* 434 manufacture. The leaves are gathered in the early morning or the 438 evenings, and in the heat of the day the people sit under the trees or on the verandas of their houses and arrange the leaves in bundles of one hundred each, tying them with fibre. These bundles are then sold to contractors at the rate of four annas per hundred bundles. Prices vary somewhat according to the quality and the demand. The Kharara Ghat folk claim that they earn from Rs. 400 to 500 per year from the sale of these leaves.

434 313 Kharara Ghat has other sources of income. The village is situated on a jungly section on the edge of the reserved forest. Wood is

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539 [805 177]

Phágun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishákha	..	April-May.
Jeth	..	May-June.

539 832 [815]

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dádrá* from Katni. The *lotá* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

[533 276]

2. A *kájlí* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kajlí* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pánwálá* prepares and sells the *pán*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dádrá* from Katni.

4. A *dádrá* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

[226 564]

5. A *dádrí* from Katni. The *dhímar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

[831 196]

6, 7. These are both *dádrás* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rálí* from Katni.

[585 533]

9. A *biyá*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

539

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

[846]

1. This song is called *chhauhar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

[844]

2. A *badhwá*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

[846 831]

3. Another *chhauhar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

539 585

4. A *dádrá* from Imalhapur. The *Púrabiyás* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rálí* from Katni.

[192]

6. A marriage *dádrá* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Marawá* or *marhwá*: the wedding booth.